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THE DISRUPTERS AT WORK

A hostile U. S. press dooms Geneva parley despite hopeful signs

By Kumar Goshal

THE AMERICAN PRESS, aided by high-placed disrupters here and abroad, seemed determined last week to consign the conference of the foreign ministers in Geneva to failure. Rarely indeed has an event of such importance been treated to such a barrage of doom-and-gloom reporting and biased predictions. A Soviet proposal, for example, is generally presented as an "ultimatum" in the press; a Western rejection is presented as the patient act of souls tried beyond endurance.

Despite the headlines, there had been indications of cautious give-and-take concessions in the private meetings, which began May 28. But on June 15 the Western press reported that the conference had reached a critical stage and might end in deadlock, thus perhaps precluding a summit meeting. The predictions were based on the supposedly "inflexible" proposals made by Soviet Foreign Minister on June 10.

THE SOVIET POSITION: Gromyko proposed that Moscow would guarantee the Western powers access to West Berlin for a year if they agreed to (1) reduce their forces in West Berlin to "symbolic contingents"; (2) renounce hostile propaganda and espionage against East Germany; (3) give up any plans to install nuclear or missile weapons in West Berlin; (4) help establish an East-West German committee to promote contacts and devise measures for German reunification.

Moscow was immediately accused of making unilateral demands although Gromyko clearly stated his proposals were for negotiation. He denied that the one-year time limit was an ultimatum and reminded the Western powers that their previous proposals also carried deadlines.

It was, in fact, known that in their private meetings both sides had hinted at concessions. The Western powers had indicated willingness (1) to place a ceiling on their troop strength in West Berlin; (2) to curb propaganda and espionage activities if similar activities were curbed in East Berlin and East Germany; (3) accept the East Germans as Soviet "agents" controlling access routes to West Berlin.

U.S. INTENTIONS: N.Y. **Times'** Washington bureau chief James Reston said (June 11) that "not all the points in Mr. Gromyko's catalogue of demands were rejected by officials" in Washington. These officials, he said, believed the Administration had no intention of installing missiles or nuclear weapons in West Berlin and would be willing to consider reduced armed forces and controlled propaganda and espionage "in both parts" of Berlin.

Reston added that they even conceded, "though reluctantly," that Moscow had the legal right to transfer its occupation authority to the East Germans if Western passage rights to and from West Berlin were not violated. "The sticking point," Reston said, was the one-year limit Moscow stipulated. But he noted that some officials felt even this point was meant "to counter President Eisenhower's suggestion that the Soviet Union agree to maintain the status quo indefi-

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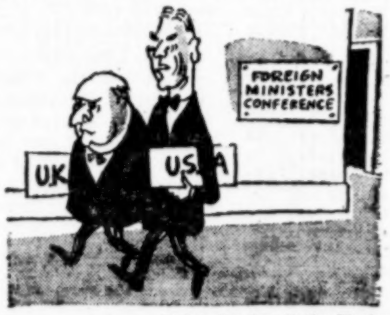
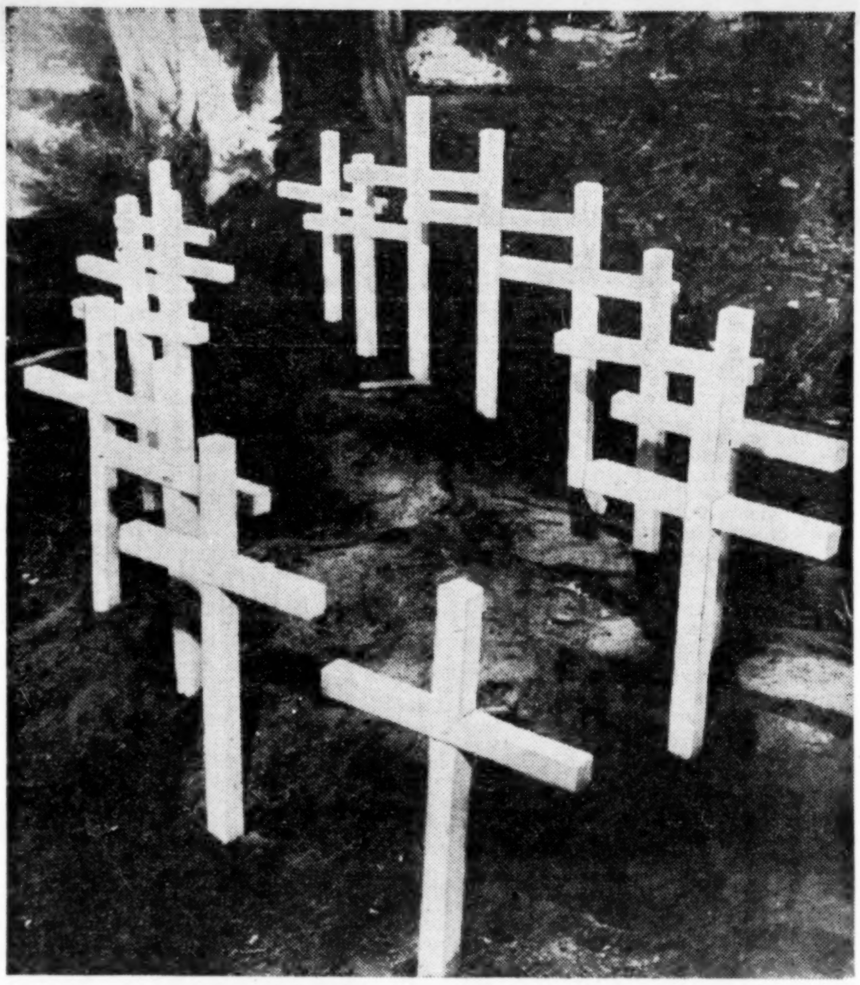


Eccles, London Daily Worker

"Follow me closely, we don't want any danger of a fallout!"



THE WHITE CROSSES MARK THE SPOT IN ARIZONA

The spot where 16 Mexican migratory farm workers being ferried like cattle from job to job, lost their lives when their makeshift truck hit a tree and exploded. Every year these accidents are repeated, yet neither the Federal government nor the states make provisions to improve the lot of the migratory workers. It might cut into the profits of the big farm combines.

NEW YORK'S HOSPITAL STRIKE

Judge calls ban on unions an 'echo of the 19th century'

By Robert E. Light

CARE OF PATIENTS in New York's seven struck hospitals, according to the State Dept. of Welfare, still meets minimum standards. But it is clear from other sources that this is not the time to become sick in New York.

One doctor reports that some operating rooms are closed and surgery schedules are tighter than ever. Paper towels and coverings are used in some operating rooms instead of linen. When they become wet, he warns, their antiseptic efficiency decreases.

In one hospital nurses reluctant to cross the picket line are housed in the clinic and clinic appointments have been postponed up to two months.

Nurses' functions have been expanded to include clean-up and linen-changing chores. It is not easy for patients to find a nurse when they need one.

A patient at Mt. Sinai Hospital told the N.Y. **Times:** "The nurses are wonderful . . . but frankly, the place could be a little cleaner."

In the wards clean pajamas are in short supply. Patients on special diets are often served packaged dinners.

Volunteers, in some places, do the work of the strikers. But one nurse confided: "They are often more hindrance than help."

THE ISSUES: On strike are 3,000 nonprofessional workers, members of Local 1199 of the AFL-CIO Retail Drug Employes Union. About 85% are Negroes and Puerto Ricans. They walked out on May 8 when hospital officials refused to discuss union recognition. The strikers want the union to represent them in negotiating a contract which would raise wages (as low as $32 for a 40-hour week);

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REPORT TO READERS

High Court's yielding won't halt curbs

THE QUESTION most widely raised by the June 8 decision of a 5-4 Supreme Court majority in the Uphaus and Barenblatt cases, receding from earlier liberal decisions in the field of civil liberties, was what effect the backtracking might have on legislation now before Congress to curb the Court.

The N.Y. **Times'** Washington chief, Arthur Krock, noting that the two decisions "satisfied" large groups, wrote on June 13:

"Whether these satisfactions will overcome the drive for curbs with the more enduring quality of Federal statutes, as contrasted with reliance on five justices to maintain their current positions, is a question which cannot yet be answered in the affirmative. But there is the prospect that this will be the effect."

The **Times** has opposed the court-curbing legislation. The N.Y. **Daily News,** which has supported the proposed curbs, ran an editorial, LET'S CURB THE COURT ANYWAY, which called the decisions "a near-miraculous coincidence" and asked: "Why assume that the Warren Court is mending its ways and will not, once the Congressional heat is off, snap back to its old pro-Red, anti-Congress and anti-states' rights habits?"

WASHINGTON OBSERVERS to whom the GUARDIAN has talked—union legislative representatives, lawyers and others close to Congress—see no reason for optimism that the anti-Court legislation can be defeated without extraordinary pressure, particularly on the Senate, by the voters themselves. The consensus is that a 5-4 division of the Court is too close to satisfy reactionary interests, and the anti-court legislation will be even more vigorously pushed for that reason.

One indication of this is that the House Republican Policy Committee, in the week following the two court decisions, formally endorsed H. R. 3, broadest of the anti-court bills, which would reverse the Court's 1956 Nelson decision and assert that Federal law is not intended to interfere with the operation of state law in the same field.

(Continued on Page 2)

THE MAIL BAG

June 19, 8 p.m.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

I hope hundreds upon hundreds of New Yorkers will jam Webster Hall on June 19, at the meeting called to assure **Freedom for Morton Sobell, Now.** Prof. Horace Kallen of the New School and Prof. Murray Branch of Morehouse College, like hundreds of other leaders, will call for Sobell's freedom because they recognize, as Nobel scientist Dr. Harold C. Urey has stated, that "the integrity of justice as it is administered in the United States is at stake in this case."

June 19 marks the sixth anniversary of the executions of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. The Webster Hall meeting (119 E. 11 St.) is called for 8 p.m.; most will recall the fateful night of the executions, exactly six years earlier at the hour, also on a Friday night.

This is not just another meeting. It is, literally and figuratively, the key to Sobell's cell and to a better future.

Aaron Katz

Q fever

TRENTON, N.J.

What is "permissible" today may be "dangerous" tomorrow, as illustrated by the recent article (**Science, May 8, 1959**) by Kulp, et al. This shows that for young children "the maximum level of strontium-90 in the diet **from tests made to date** will have been reached" in 1966; the immediate danger is both unknown and has a 7-8 year lag in maximum contamination. Though the immediate goal should certainly be to remove this immediate danger to the entire world by banning testing, the primary goal of complete disarmament can easily be lost sight of and should not be neglected.

Circumvention of a nuclear ban is evidenced in an extremely frightening article ("A single ounce of the toxic agent which causes the disease 'Q fever' would be sufficient to infect 28 billion people" though this "ideal" may not be realized because "there would inevitably be great wastage"), "Germs and Gas," by Brig. Gen. J. H. Rothschild, U.S. Army Ret., in the June, 1959, **Harpers.** The author enters a plea for increased public moral support and government financial support to the Chemical Corps' germ and gas program. He puts forth the idea that even if nuclear warfare is outlawed, germs and gas may be the new 'deterrent' to future wars ("the **only** known hope for relatively humane warfare in the future lies in the chemical and biological weapons").

This further shows that though we must continue the fight for an end to bomb testing, we must not relax at that point; we must obtain "No More War!" For even without further testing the nuclear and "more humane" germ weapons can destroy the world.

Name Withheld

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

VANCOUVER, B.C., (AP) June 5—People are so worried for fear cigarettes cause lung cancer they are smoking more, Fritz Bodde, deputy chairman of the British-American Tobacco Co., said Friday.

The Chicago **Tribune,** 6/6/59

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: M.M., Chicago, Ill.

Apalachin afterthoughts

CLEVELAND, O.

Bravo for your editorial, "Apalachin, U.S.A." No matter how distasteful the alleged actions or ideas of those whose civil liberties are breached, those of us who care deeply about preserving American freedoms cannot afford to stand aside, for civil liberties are indeed indivisible.

Bravo, too, for pointing up once more the dangers of the device of the "conspiracy" charge. The elimination of this "worn-out piece of tyranny" is long overdue. Recently indictments have been made against the Teamster's Union leaders in New York for conspiracy, and against Local 25 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and its business agent for "conspiracy to violate the Sherman anti-Trust Act."

Unable to get Congress to apply the Sherman act to unions, anti-labor forces are using the "conspiracy" techniques tried out in Cleveland to use the anti-trust laws against unions anyway. Fortunately, the ILGWU has the resources to put up a strong fight.

Speaking of resources, the Cleveland Taft-Hartley case continues in need of funds for an effective appeal. The response to our recent Ad Hoc Committee request for financial aid has been gratifying, but as yet far from adequate to meet the need. Address: Ad Hoc Committee, P.O. Box 2461, E. Cleveland Sta., Cleveland 12. Meantime our thanks to those who have already given.

Marie Reed Haug

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SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Congratulations on your Apalachin editorial. This time you hit the nail on the head. You're quite late, as you say, but better late than never. I can never personally forgive myself or the whole progressive movement for "going along" with the wholly unconstitutional wholesale roundups of our Japanese-Americans shortly after Pearl Harbor and shipping them off like cattle to concentration camps. At the time I had reservations. But neither I nor any important segments of our progressive America did anything.

At that time a pattern was permitted to be established that certain American minorities under certain conditions and under the whiplash of hysteria can be deprived of their rights as guaranteed under our Constitution. I had forgotten that any infringement on anyone's constitutional rights later will become a pattern to infringe on everyone's rights.

J. A. R.

Service . . .

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I am eight years old. I live at 3922 Fernwood Ave., Los Angeles 27, Calif. The reason I am writing is because I want a pen-pal from India. Could you get me one?

Martha Krow

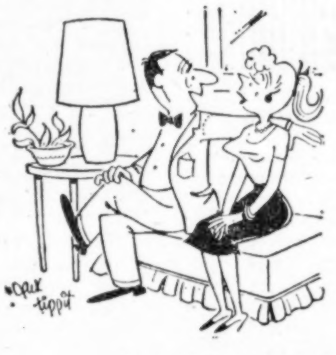
. . . with a smile

DELHI, INDIA

I am a boy 12 years and want some pen-pals in America. I got the address of your weekly from my friends. I hope you will publish my name: Sunil Gupta, Sir Sayed Ahmed Road, Fair Bazar, Daryagang, Delhi, India.

My hobbies: stamps collecting, coins collecting. Your friend,

Sunil



London Evening Standard

"I'd like to marry you, Edith, but I can't afford the premium on the insurance I sold you."

Natural childbirth

CHICAGO, ILL.

I would like to comment critically on the review (May 11) of Mrs. Marjorie Karmel's book on painless childbirth, **Thank You, Dr. Lamaze.**

Use of the phrases "Pavlov method" and "a la Pavlov" are overly pat and obscure the many years of experimentation and developing methods worked on by Soviet doctors, using Pavlovian physiology as the starting point. It is unfortunate but not crucially important at this state that Dr. Grantly Dick Read, and not Pavlov, is the name popularly associated with natural childbirth in this country.

An American doctor named Goodrich has written an extremely complete and helpful book entitled **Natural Childbirth,** which I found in a local public library and which makes "do-it-yourself" natural childbirth simple. While he pays homage to Read and not Pavlov, he doesn't burden the reader with Read's mysticism. A Soviet pamphlet entitled **Painless Childbirth** by K. Figurnov (Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1955) is interesting though somewhat specialized reading.

My two children, aged three and one, were both delivered by natural childbirth—the first in Iowa, the second in Chicago. I would rather deliver a baby any day than spend 30 minutes in a dentist's chair.

Catherine W. Simonson

Dr. Read died at his home in Wroxham, England, June 11 at 69. In 1942 he published Childbirth Without Fear; *in 1949,* Introduction to Motherhood; *and in 1956, at the time Pope Pius XII approved natural childbirth methods, he supervised a 55-min. LP recording of the sounds, physician's instructions and final cries and exclamations of a 12-hour period leading up to an actual natural childbirth delivery, without pain.*—Ed.

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

GENERAL OF THE ARMY Dwight D. Eisenhower, president of Columbia University, wrote to Representative Ralph W. Gwinn (R-N.Y.) denouncing the Administration's $300,000,000 aid-to-education bill as tending toward "socialism." The measure has passed the Senate and has been approved by a House subcommittee. It would undermine "watchful economy" and lead to dangers greater "than any external threat that can possibly be arrayed against us," the General said. Actually the bill would give more education to more U.S. children.

On Tuesday the General wrote another letter, to Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson. This time he was unconcerned with "watchful economy." He wanted a pay increase for members of the armed forces. Present scales, he said, are "stupidly inadequate."

—National Guardian, June 20, 1949

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REPORT TO READERS

The Supreme Court

(Continued from Page 1)

The Uphaus decision, restoring the states' rights to laws guarding against sedition against the state itself, anticipated H.R.3. This is viewed by the Negro leadership of the civil rights struggle as authorizing a new attack on integration forces everywhere in the South.

THIS ALARM is voiced in strong resolutions against the pending legislation addressed to members of Congress and the newspapers by groups of Negro leaders in Kentucky and Louisiana.

The statement originating in New Orleans was signed by Negro leaders from all over the South, including Dr. Martin Luther King of Montgomery, Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth of Birmingham; 12 Methodist bishops, the Birmingham, Ala., Baptist Ministers Conference with 312 members, and dozens of others including many lawyers, teachers and doctors.

The statement said in part:

"Senator Eastland of Mississippi and Rep. Howard K. Smith of Virginia are bitter enemies of equal rights for Negro people. The fact that they are spearheading this new drive for drastic laws should alert us all to the danger.

"Members of Congress from every state where the Supreme Court decision of 1954 is being defied and where schools are not being desegregated are now aggressively seeking passage of laws which, under the guise of fighting subversion, could be used against Negro and white southerners working for integration."

THE KENTUCKY RESOLUTION was issued at Louisville as a result of a meeting assembled May 22 by the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth of Birmingham, at which he recalled that seven Louisville integrationists had been charged with sedition in 1954.

The Louisville statement, signed by Rt. Rev. C. Ewbank Tucker, bishop of the A.M.E. Zion Church and a leader of the Southern Conference Educational Fund; James A. Crumlin, pres. of the NAACP State Conference of Branches; Frank L. Stanley Sr., publisher of the Louisville **Defender,** and Dr. J. V. Bottoms, chairman of the board of Simmons University, expressed the conviction that "if we leave the definition of sedition to local state representatives, there can be no doubt who will be persecuted . . .

"To many state officials in the South, the definition of sedition and subversion is integration. State sedition laws have and will be used to harass and jail integrationists, to create terror, and to set back the progress of desegregation for a decade."

CARL BRADEN, victim of Kentucky's sedition law in 1954, now stands in danger of again losing his liberty as a result of the Supreme Court decision in the Barenblatt case, circumscribing its 1957 Watkins decision which at that time was interpreted as a blow against abuse of powers by Congressional committees allegedly investigating communism. Braden, now a representative of the Southern Conference Educational Fund fighting segregation, and Frank Wilkinson, leader of the fight to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, both have been convicted of contempt of Congress for refusing to answer questions of the HUAC on their activities. Their cases, with perhaps a dozen others involving refusal to answer Congressional interrogation on First Amendment grounds, are now on appeal, many of them before the District of Columbia Circuit Court of Appeals. It was the D.C. Court of Appeals which in 1958 decided, 5-4, to uphold the conviction of college teacher Lloyd Barenblatt when his contempt-of-Congress case was sent back to it by the Supreme Court for reconsideration in the light of the 1957 Watkins decision. This action of the D.C. court was the basis for the Supreme Court's June 8 decision of this year, which affirmed Barenblatt's conviction after casting doubt on it in 1958. A lawyer for one of the contempt cases still before the D.C. appeals court told the GUARDIAN:

"If the D.C. court refused to accept the Watkins decision, then it seems inevitable that it will use the new decision to sustain the contempt convictions now before it."

THE CONSTERNATION caused by the Supreme Court's about-face on its pivotal Nelson and Watkins decisions of 1956-57 indicates the extent to which the left-of-center in the U.S. has relied on the Court in recent years rather than on political action to protect civil rights and liberties.

We urge you to join the fight by demanding that your Senators vote to kill all bills aimed at civil rights and liberties in this session of the legislature. The time is short; act now, and get others to join you. Only concerted action now can halt the bills; and a show of support for the Supreme Court's liberal decisions is most obviously needed to get the Court back on the right track.—**THE GUARDIAN**

JUSTICE HUGO BLACK DISSENTS

Democracy: 'Courage to be free'

Following are excerpts from the dissent of Justice Hugo Black in the Barenblatt case, in which Chief Justice Earl Warren and Justice William O. Douglas joined. Justice William J. Brennan Jr. filed a separate dissent.

JUSTICE HUGO BLACK
The chief aim is punishment . . .

IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING that a law to be valid must be clear enough to make its commands understandable. . . . For a statute broad enough to support infringement of speech, writings, thoughts and public assemblies against the unequivocal command of the First Amendment necessarily leaves all persons to guess just what the law really means to cover, and fear of a wrong guess inevitably leads people to forego the very rights the Constitution sought to protect above all others. Vagueness becomes even more intolerable in this area if one accepts, as the court today does, a balancing test to decide if First Amendment rights shall be protected. It is difficult at best to make a man guess—at the penalty of imprisonment—whether a court will consider the state's need for certain information superior to society's interest in unfettered freedom. It is unconscionable to make him choose between the right to keep silent and the need to speak when the statute supposedly establishing the "state's interest" is too vague to give him guidance.

Measured by the foregoing standards, Rule XI [the enabling resolution for the House Un-American Activities Committee] cannot support any conviction for refusal to testify. In substance it authorizes the committee to compel witnesses to give evidence about all "un-American propaganda," whether instigated in this country or abroad. The word "propaganda" seems to mean anything that people say, write, think or associate together about. The term "un-American" is equally vague. As was said in **Watkins,** "Who can define (its) meaning?" . . .

On the court's own test, the issue is whether Barenblatt can know with sufficient certainty, at the time of his interrogation, that there is so compelling a need for his replies that infringement of his rights of free association is justified. The record does not disclose where Barenblatt can find what that need is.

But even if Barenblatt could evaluate the importance to the Government of the information sought, Rule XI would still be too broad to support his conviction. If Congress wants ideas investigated, if it even wants them investigated in the field of education, it must be prepared to say so expressly and unequivocally.

THE FIRST AMENDMENT says in no equivocal language that Congress shall pass no law abridging freedom of speech, press, assembly or petition. The activities of this committee, authorized by Congress, do precisely that, through exposure, obloquy and public scorn.

(A) I do not agree that laws directly abridging First Amendment freedoms can be justified by a Congressional or judicial balancing process. . . .

But even assuming what I cannot assume, that some balancing is proper in this case, I feel that the court after stating the test ignores it completely. At most it balances the right of the Government to preserve itself, against Barenblatt's right to refrain from revealing Communist affiliations. Such a balance, however, mistakes the factors to be weighed. In the first place, it completely leaves out the real interest in Barenblatt's silence, the interest of the people as a whole in being able to join organizations, advocate causes and make political "mistakes" without later being subjected to governmental penalties for having dared to think for themselves. . . .

(B) Moreover, I cannot agree with the court's notion that First Amendment freedoms must be abridged in order to "preserve our country." That notion rests on the unarticulated premise that this nation's security hangs upon its power to punish people because of what they think, speak or write about, or because of those with whom they associate for political purposes. The Government, in its brief, virtually admits this position when it speaks of the "communication of unlawful ideas." I challenge this premise, and deny that ideas can be proscribed under our Constitution. I agree that despotic governments cannot exist without stifling the voice of opposition to their oppressive practices. The First Amendment means to me, however, that the only constitutional way our Government can preserve itself is to leave its people the fullest possible freedom to praise, criticize or discuss, as they see fit, all Governmental policies and to suggest, if they desire, that even its most fundamental postulates are bad and should be changed.

(C) The court implies that the ordinary rules and requirements of the Constitution do not apply because the committee is merely after Communists and they do not constitute a political party but only a political gang. By accepting this charge and allowing it to support treatment of the Communist party and its members which would violate the Constitution if applied to other groups, the court, in effect, declares that party outlawed. It has been only a few years since there was a practically unanimous feeling throughout the country and in our courts that this could not be done in our free land . . .

The fact is that once we allow any group which has some political aims or ideas to be driven from the ballot and from the battle for men's minds because some of its members are bad and some of its tenets are illegal no group is safe . . .

FINALLY, I THINK Barenblatt's conviction violates the Constitution because the chief aim, purpose and practice of the House Un-American Activities Committee as disclosed by its many reports, is to try witnesses and punish them because they are or have been Communists or because they refuse to admit or deny Communist affiliations. The punishment imposed is generally punishment by humiliation and public shame. There is nothing strange or novel about this kind of punishment. It is, in fact, one of the oldest forms of Governmental punishment known to mankind; branding, the pillory, ostracism and subjection to public hatred being but a few examples of it. . . .

The Un-American Activities Committee was created in 1938. It immediately conceived of its function on a grand scale as one of ferreting out "subversives" and especially of having them removed from Government jobs. It made many reports to the House urging removal of such employes. How well it has succeeded in its declared program of "pitiless publicity and exposure" is a matter of public record. It is enough to cite the experience of a man who masqueraded as a Communist for the F.B.I. and who reported to this same committee that since 1952 when his "membership" became known he has been unable to hold any job.

IT IS NO ANSWER to all this to suggest that legislative committees should be allowed to punish if they grant the accused some rules of courtesy or allow him counsel. For the Constitution proscribes all bills of attainder by state or nation, not merely those which lack counsel or courtesy. It does this because the founders believed that punishment was too serious a matter to be entrusted to any group other than an independent judiciary and a jury of twelve men acting on previously passed, unambiguous laws, with all the procedural safeguards they put in the Constitution as essential to a fair trial—safeguards which included the right to counsel, compulsory process for witnesses, specific indictments, confrontation of accusers, as well as protection against self-incrimination, double jeopardy and cruel and unusual punishment—in short, due process of law.

It is this same right which is denied to Barenblatt, because the court today fails to see what is here for all to see—that exposure and punishment is the aim of this committee and the reason for its existence. To deny this aim is to ignore the committee's own claims and the reports it has issued ever since it was established. I cannot believe that the nature of our judicial office requires us to be so blind, and must conclude that the Un-American Activities Committee's "identification" and "exposure" of Communists and suspected Communists . . . amount to an encroachment on the Judiciary which bodes ill for the liberties of the people of this land.

Ultimately all the questions in this case really boil down to one—whether we as a people will try to preserve democracy by adopting totalitarian methods, or whether in accordance with our traditions and our Constitution we will have the confidence and courage to be free.

DR. WILLARD UPHAUS COMMENTS

World Fellowship will carry on and win

By Dr. Willard Uphaus

DR. WILLARD UPHAUS
"It is morally wrong . . ."

AS I CLIMBED the long steps of the imposing Supreme Court building in Washington last November 17 I had mingled feelings of pain and gratitude. Chiseled out plainly were the words, "Equal Justice Under the Law." Memories poured in of an eventful life lived in a wonderful land that had been gracious to me in many ways. Under freedom I had tilled the soil in Indiana, grown up in the church, taught in the schools, fought with labor during the great depression, and finally called through World Fellowship to help bring all humanity together in a brotherhood of peace and plenty.

On the morning of November 17 I thought I was coming to the victorious end of a long struggle to be free of the real subverters of our constitutional liberties, free of those who would destroy, not the body, but the soul of man.

THEN ON JUNE 8 came the shocking news that the high court had upheld the contempt citation handed down by a New Hampshire Superior Court Justice because I had refused to give the Attorney General of the state our World Fellowship guest lists and correspondence with speakers for 1954 and 1955. The majority opinion held that "the basis of Nelson thus rejects the notion that it stripped the states of the right to protect themselves." A frightened state had acted through its anti-sedition act to protect itself from overthrow by a Christian pacifist or by a World Fellowship of friendly people dedicated to a peaceful solution of the problems of war, poverty, hunger and bigotry.

Three courts, said Justice Clark, had disagreed with Dr. Uphaus in interpreting his right to refuse to produce the records called for. Can one without appearing to be opinionated and arrogant continue to pit the inner voice of conscience against such an array of judicial opinion? I rest my case with the finding of the minority that constitutionally protected rights had been violated and that "the investigatory objective was the impermissible one of exposure for exposure's sake." But far beyond this I lay hold of a profound religious and ethical teaching, as ancient as the Old Testament and the history of the church, that it is morally wrong to put innocent people into the hands of unscrupulous investigators who have the power to frighten, to slander, to punish through ugly publicity, and to take away the means of livelihood.

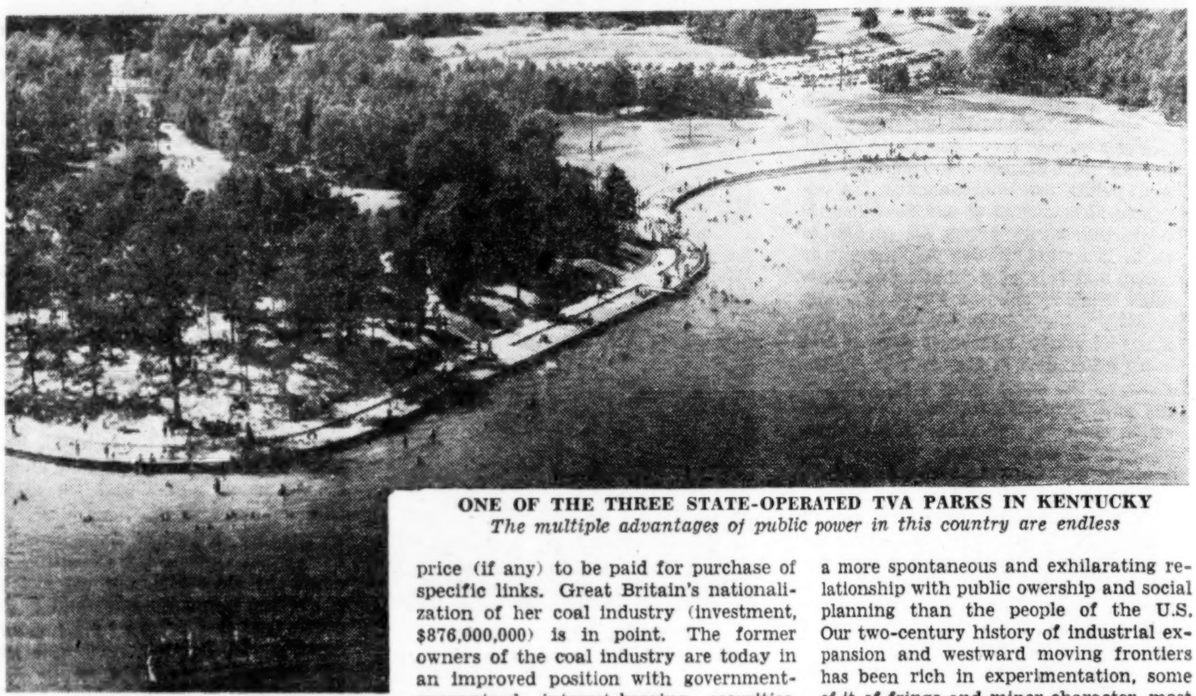
AS WE PROCEED together in our struggle to restore civil and religious liberty we must not be overcome by the personal suffering of individual victims. I feel much more hurt about my country than about myself. Decisions against Lloyd Barenblatt and Willard Uphaus show that we are still far from well. We needed to be shocked into the reality of our situation. We need to see how these two rulings may reopen the doors for the forces that would close the mouths of teachers and preachers, and that would call subversive what is honest dissent and basic social reconstruction.

Mrs. Uphaus, whose inward calm is a present blessing beyond description, and I wish to assure our friends that World Fellowship will carry on. It represents an idea that is historically ripe. Many inquiries about our summer program are coming in and reservations are being made. We have the faith that through our growing World Fellowship family, through the quick response of sensitive GUARDIAN readers, the Religious Freedom Committee and other friendly forces, that we shall win. It is especially important that those who uphold our great heritage of free association and democratic assembly be with us this summer.

SOME PROPOSALS FOR PROGRESSIVES

Three bridges that can lead to a world of peace and plenty

By Reuben W. Borough
Special to the Guardian



ONE OF THE THREE STATE-OPERATED TVA PARKS IN KENTUCKY
The multiple advantages of public power in this country are endless

NEXT TO THE PREVENTION of war, the chief obligation of democratic societies today is the building of bridges, international and intra-national, for the free interchange of industrial capital, techniques, and commodities throughout the world.

These bridges—always to be open between the Western nations themselves—should vitally relate those nations with three additional areas: the socialist countries; the peoples emerging from colonialism and seeking aid from both socialist and capitalist sources; and the public-ownership and planned-economy segments within the Western nations' own confines.

BRIDGE NO. 1: The proposed bridge connecting capitalist and socialist societies will strengthen, rather than weaken, the economies of the Western countries (the U.S., particularly) by opening up rapidly expanding markets. The resulting exchange of products and services would curtail the exploitative power of the price-fixing monopolists. This may well have been in the mind of visiting Deputy Premier Mikoyan when he said in an interview in the L.A. **Times**, Jan. 13: ". . . The Soviet Union intends to overtake the U.S. in industrial production but in a way that will not be a menace to anyone."

But this particular bridge is under fire from the less realistic and more doctrinaire elements of American capitalism, which are concerned primarily not with the maintenance of markets with sure and expanding consumptive capacity, but with the yield of monopoly's instant raid.

This typical hostility is expressed by Rep. Glenard P. Lipscomb (R-Calif.) who has discovered that American products "in a hitherto undisclosed list" approved by the U.S. Dept. of Commerce for export to the Soviet bloc have, since last August 15, reached a total value of $5,000,000. To meet the threat the Congressman has introduced a House resolution calling for an investigation to determine whether all trade between the U.S. and the Soviet bloc should not be banned or sharply restricted.

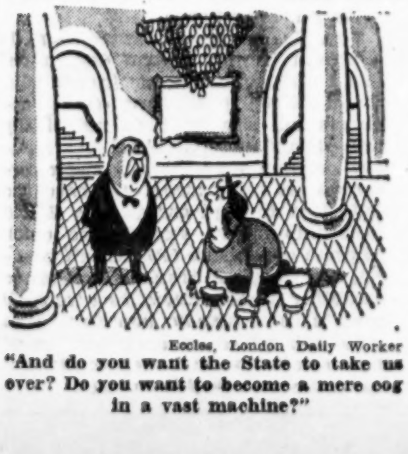
The Congressman said in a L.A. **Times** interview March 16:

"In late 1958 huge Soviet shipments of platinum caused the price of this precious metal to drop to $52 an ounce, which was $51 less than in early 1957.

"The Russians' actions with respect to tin dumping are notorious and have resulted in constant price fluctuations and harmful effects on many of the world's strongest supporters and traditional suppliers."

Then follows an exposure of Soviet subversion among America's power elite capitalists:

"On Nov. 29, 1958, it was announced that the U.S.S.R. had concluded an agreement to sell $13,500,000 worth of benzene to the Dow Chemical Co. The price was 6c per gallon lower than the U.S. price. American benzene spokesmen claimed at the time there already was a substantial oversupply in the U.S."



Eccles, London Daily Worker
"And do you want the State to take us over? Do you want to become a mere cog in a vast machine?"

And here's how the Russians are undermining American education:

"Early last month the Soviet Union sent an initial supply of school scientific equipment. Despite import duties of 40 percent, these items sold at two-thirds less than American products in the same field."

BRIDGE NO. 2: The bridge between the Western nations and the colonial and former colonial areas is already operating, under competition from the Soviet bloc, with dynamic repercussions. The contrast between socialist and capitalist methods of "aiding" the capitalization of industrially underdeveloped countries is seen in a current Central India example.

India turned to both the Soviet Union and West Germany to aid in steel production. Result: German monopoly capitalism is charging the Indian government 30 percent more for building a steel mill of 1,000,000 ingot tons' annual capacity in Rourekala, Orissa State, than the Soviet government is charging for a plant of equal capacity in Bhilai, in one of the Madhya Pradesh states. Explanation: the West German-built plant is being erected by 34 business firms under the supervision of the Krupps-Demag combine, all under the necessity of returning a profit to investors, while the Soviet-built plant is the product of a single Soviet agency, Techno-export, with no private profit obligations. The full capacity of the West German-built plant will be "eventual" while that of the Soviet-built plant is immediate.

If this bridge between the Western nations and the colonial and former colonial areas is to remain open, the above picture will have to change. Is it not possible that a defensive capitalist nationalism may dictate an abandonment of special-interest-profit investments and the institution in their place of government projects financed at cost? Indeed, is it not possible that this new competition, in order to reach its widest potential, may dictate the abolition of the Pentagon's arms race and its parasitic spawning of military hardware?

BRIDGE NO. 3: Of the three bridges here considered the most important—and hardest pressed—is the third, connecting the laissez faire economies of the Western nations with their own public-ownership and socially planned frontiers.

There seems to be growing recognition of the social inevitability and desirability of the extension of public ownership (Bridge No. 3) in the border realm between two opposing systems although there is divergence of opinion as to the price (if any) to be paid for purchase of specific links. Great Britain's nationalization of her coal industry (investment, $876,000,000) is in point. The former owners of the coal industry are today in an improved position with government-guaranteed interest-bearing securities, but both the coal industries' workers and the national economy are in an improved position.

Pay of the British miners has been raised in the listing of wage levels from 80th place to first place. Rate of fatal accidents per 100,000 manshifts worked was reduced more than 30 percent between 1946 and 1954 and for all serious accidents more than 20 percent.

As to the effect of nationalization of coal, electric power, and transport upon Britain's economy, J. D. Bernal, noted scientist and economist, says in his latest work, **World Without War,** (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1958) on page 158:

"The effect of this conversion, carried out with the utmost caution, with full compensation and the minimum upset to vested interests, has, however, provided for a controlled and planned supply of some basic industrial requirements and at a very low cost: coal in the first place, electric power, and much of transport. Though nationalization did not satisfy the dreams of the socialists who first advocated it, at the same time, it did not justify the fears of the capitalists: In fact, it provided them with certain advantages that they would have found very difficult to get from industry in private hands. The price of coal is effectively subsidized by selling in relation to average instead of maximum costs. This gives British industries considerable competitive advantage over those on the continent. Similarly the national control of power supplies enables the transition from coal to atomic power to proceed in a smooth and planned way."

COMPENSATION: In view of the socialist countries' spectacular proliferation of capital, acquisition of public-ownership bridges within the Western nations might well be carried on from here on with compensation, either in "full" or compromised, and with the aim of "minimum upset to vested interests," as in the case of the British coal industry. What is required for investment in plant appears to be a matter of decreasing importance.

Illustrative is Los Angeles' municipally owned power enterprise, which in less than half a century has cut electric rates two-thirds and at the same time built up a half-billion-dollar property with a "citizens' equity" (paid-off debt) of $163,000,000. The total purchase price for the two private electric systems which are the core of this public enterprise was only $58,000,000—$12,044,000 to one company on May 16, 1922, and $46,300,000 to the other February 1, 1937.

No other people in the world has had a more spontaneous and exhilarating relationship with public owership and social planning than the people of the U.S. Our two-century history of industrial expansion and westward moving frontiers has been rich in experimentation, some of it of fringe and minor character, most if not all of it in response to instant need rather than creedal indoctrination. We were "socialist" whenever "socialism" fitted in with our immediate purposes. Labels did not bother us.

WIDE RANGE: The range of heterogeneous undertakings, some of them common-place today and accepted as necessities of capitalist development, includes: Post roads, postal service, highways, bridges, canals, water transport, railways, bus systems, air lines, harbors, rock quarries, farms, pasturage, forests (operated for sale of timber and fire wood), schools, cafeterias, beach and mountain recreation camps, theaters, orchestras, parks, zoos, retail markets, gas plants, electric systems both for power and light.

Most imposing of the foregoing ventures in "creeping socialism" is hydroelectric public power, strikingly implemented by the multiple-purpose dam with a concomitant program of flood control, irrigation, stream regulation, recreation, forestation, and wild life preservation. Launched in the administration of President Theodore Roosevelt in 1911 and rapidly expanded under Franklin D. Roosevelt, the sweep of this socially planned activity is deliberately suppressed by contemporary government officialdom and is relatively unkown except among its reactionary enemies. Yet it is to date the greatest single social achievement of the nation.

Its physical properties are awe-inspiring. Topping the country's 2,300 municipal plants and other minor Federal power structures are 80 Federal dams, all more than 200 feet in height, fixed in rivers draining more than 30 states. In 1953, according to the Federal Power Commission, the installed generating capacity of the Federal plants was 38.6 percent of the combined installed capacity of all public and private plants in the nation—8,293,520 kilowatts as against 21,463,872. Moreover, the Federal plants, per kilowatt of capacity, turn out more product in kilowatt hours than the privately owned plants—42 percent of the national total of kilowatt hours with the above-mentioned 38.6 percent of the national total of kilowatt capacity.

STRONG ARGUMENT: A final observation regarding public power as the bridge to the other Western nations. Hydroelectric energy, with certain complementary energy sources, lies at the base of industry in the U.S., as in other advanced economies. The rates for its consumption (as Great Britain has discovered) are an important factor in determining the success or failure of the battle for foreign markets.

PASSPORTS DENIED AND LIFTED

State Dept. and the courts keep China out of bounds

By Lawrence Emery

DESPITE LAST YEAR'S Supreme Court decision that the right to travel is "an attribute of personal liberty," the State Dept. and the courts are still finding ways to confine American citizens—including a Supreme Court Justice and members of Congress.

On June 9 a three-judge panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington unanimously rejected an appeal by newsman William Worthy Jr. for restoration of his passport which was revoked after he visited China and Hungary in 1956 in violation of a State Dept. ban on travel in those countries.

On the same day the State Dept. advised Associate Justice William O. Douglas and several Senators and Representatives that it was opposed to granting them passports for China.

On May 29 the passports of Helen and Scott Nearing were revoked because they had visited China and written a book on their travels, **The Brave New World.**

WALDO FRANK RULING: The case of Waldo Frank, author and critic seeking a passport in response to an invitation to lecture on American literature in Peking, is now pending before another panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals and is expected to be decided on the precedent set in the Worthy case.

Worthy, who reported for the Baltimore **Afro-American,** the New York **Post** and the Columbia Broadcasting System on his 1956 travels, was refused a new passport, but the State Dept. indicated it might give him one if he promised to abide by the Department's travel restrictions. He refused and went to court.

The Supreme Court passport ruling held that the State Dept. has no statutory power to deny passports because of political beliefs or associations, but the Court of Appeals said this did not apply in the Worthy case because "beliefs, associations or personal characteristics" were not involved.

BEYOND COURTS' REACH? The opinion, written by Chief Judge E. Barrett Prettyman, upheld the State Dept.'s right to impose a general, non-discriminatory ban on travel in China and some other forbidden spots as a matter of foreign policy and said such power is beyond reach of the courts. It said:

"In foreign affairs, especially in the intimate posture of today's world of jets, radio and atomic power, an individual's uninhibited yen to go and to inquire may be circumscribed. A blustering inquisitor avowing his own freedom to go and do as he pleases can throw the whole international neighborhood into turmoil."

Worthy, now on a national lecture tour, said the decision will be appealed.

SHEEAN AND HARRIMAN: Last year the State Dept. eased its general ban on travel to China to exempt a limited number of newsmen, one each from some 30 recognized newsgathering organizations. It has validated for travel to China the passports of foreign correspondent Vincent Sheean, who plans to open a news agency for Westinghouse Broadcasting Corp., and of former New York Governor W. Averell Harriman, who said his article writing for the North American Newspaper Alliance is his only employment at the present time. Neither has yet received a visa from the Chinese government.

The State Dept.'s opposition to passports for Congressmen has not yet been tested. The question was first raised by Rep. John R. Pillion (R-N.Y.) and then taken up by Rep. Leonard G. Wolf (D-Ia.) who wanted to know why a Congressman couldn't go if Harriman could qualify. Sens. Warren G. Magnuson (D-Wash.) and Clair Engle (D-Calif.), both members of the Far Eastern Subcommittee of the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, want to go to China this summer to further a survey their committee is conducting.

THE NEARING CASE: The Nearings attended a hearing on their passport case in Washington last April, and were informed on May 29 by Frances G. Knight, Director of the Passport Office, that their present passports are canceled (with six months to run) and that "further passport facilities" will be refused. The action was taken under a provision which gives the Secy. of State such discretion "when it appears . . . that the person's activities abroad would: (1) violate the laws of the U.S.; (2) be prejudicial to the orderly conduct of foreign relations; or (3) otherwise be prejudicial to the interests of the U.S."

The Nearings immediately announced that they are applying for new passports.

Meanwhile, several bills designed to overturn the Supreme Court's 1958 passport decision are pending in Congress.

NEXT WEEK

Verdict in Tallahassee and the growth of violence in the South

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Killings, beatings, bombings and rape —and the resistance, Negro and white. A report on what has happened since the Supreme Court decision of 1954

KENTUCKY WINNER BERT T. COMBS WITH WIFE AND DAUGHTER

In politics, the loser "throws in the smear" instead of the sponge

PRIMARY DAY IN KENTUCKY

Witch-hunter throws low blows and wins all-time record defeat

Special to the Guardian

LOUISVILLE, KY.

THE MOST BLATANT red-baiting campaign in recent years backfired in the May 26 primary election in Kentucky, with disastrous results for the state's chief witch-hunter — Commonwealth's Attorney A. Scott Hamilton.

Hamilton was campaign manager here for Harry Lee Waterfield, who was defeated by Bert Combs in their race for the Democratic nomination for governor. Combs was teamed with former Mayor Wilson W. Wyatt, who won nomination for lieutenant governor.

Hamilton conducted a months-long campaign designed to show that Wyatt, former Federal housing expediter, is a left-winger and friendly to the Communist Party. This theme was repeated daily on TV and radio, in newspaper ads, and by leaflets. All were used in an effort to show that Wyatt is subversive because he is a director of the Louisville **Courier-Journal** and that newspaper once employed Carl Braden.

THE BIG SMEAR: Braden was sentenced to 15 years in prison in 1954 after Hamilton prosecuted him on a sedition charge because he and his wife helped a Negro family buy a house in a previously all-white neighborhood. The sentence was later reversed.

The **Courier-Journal** printed one of Hamilton's ads but also published an editorial labeling it "scurrilous" and "libelous." Combs declared in a major public address: "In a prize fight, the loser throws in the sponge, but in politics the loser throws in the smear."

Four days before the election, Hamilton was vigorously assailed at a rally in the Negro community by the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, leader of the Birmingham freedom fight.

BIRTH CONTROL, TOO: Waterfield's supporters had thought he would roll up big majorities in the Negro precincts because he was backed by Gov. A. B. Chandler, who has taken a generally enlightened position on civil rights.

But an analysis of 22 solidly Negro precincts in Louisville showed that Combs got 61% of the vote in them and Wyatt got even more.

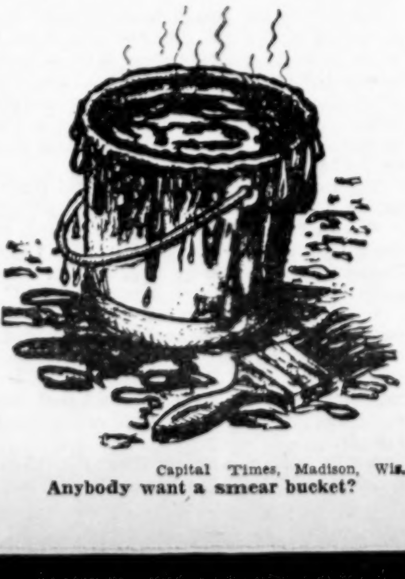
The red-baiting campaign spilled over into predominantly Catholic counties in the state. Hamilton and his group sought to link Wyatt to the Southern Conference Educational Fund, an integration group with which he has no connection, and Americans for Democratic Action, a liberal Democratic organization. They also told Catholics that Wyatt favors birth control.

RECORD MAJORITIES: Combs got 65% of the vote in Catholic counties against 53% of the total statewide, while Wyatt got 71% of the Catholic-county vote compared with 60% statewide.

The net result of the campaign was that Combs and Wyatt got the largest majority ever rolled up in a primary in Louisville and Jefferson County, while Wyatt got the largest statewide majority ever recorded in a primary election in Kentucky.

The **Courier-Journal** wrote Hamilton's political epitaph in an editorial two days after the election:

"Future campaigners here might also be warned by the fate of A. Scott Hamilton, who covered himself with something other than glory in his handling of Mr. Waterfield's local effort. During his campaign Hamilton threw every low blow in the book. He did not elect a man."



Capital Times, Madison, Wis.

Anybody want a smear bucket?

The ordeal of Mike Daniels

Special to the Guardian

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

MIKE DANIELS was born in Greece in 1894 and emigrated to the United States when he was 19 years old. Here he married and had a daughter in 1924. He also became active in progressive causes.

In 1930 he was arrested and ordered deported as an alien member of the Communist Party. But the order was stayed because Daniels proved that he might suffer persecution and possibly death at the hands of the violently anti-communist Greek government of that period. Daniels was placed on supervisory parole.

For the next 20 years he continued as a U.S. resident, active in the progressive movement. He was co-editor of the **Greek Tribune,** a left-wing Greek-language paper, for several years. In 1951 the U.S. Immigration Service reactivated his case and again moved for deportation.

The deportation order was written but not executed because in 1954 Daniels suffered a mental breakdown and was committed to the De Mar Rest Home, a county institution in Elsinore, Calif. At the home he was declared incurable and in need of constant medical supervision.

THE 11TH HOUR: He remained at the home in that condition until May 23 of this year when he received a letter from the Immigration Service telling him that he would be picked up in three days and deported. Daniels told no one of the letter: his wife is dead and his daughter is in another mental institution. It is questionable if he understood the import of the letter. Immigration officials did not notify his lawyer, Matthew Richman of Los Angeles.

On May 26, two Immigration Service agents picked up Daniels at the home and placed him on a plane to New York; his destination was Greece. In New York he was detained for several days pending final negotiation with the Greek government. But in Los Angeles, attorney Richman learned of the move and demanded to see his client before deportation. In addition, the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born protested to the Immigration Service.

In New York, Immigration agents put Daniels on a plane to Los Angeles and there he was escorted back to the rest home. Meanwhile Richman, in a Los Angeles court, challenged the deportation order on grounds that Daniels was not physically fit. At GUARDIAN press time the court had not acted.

A FACTUAL CHRONICLE FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT IN NEW DELHI

Tibet, China and India: The story of what really

By Narendra Goyal
Special to the Guardian

NEW DELHI

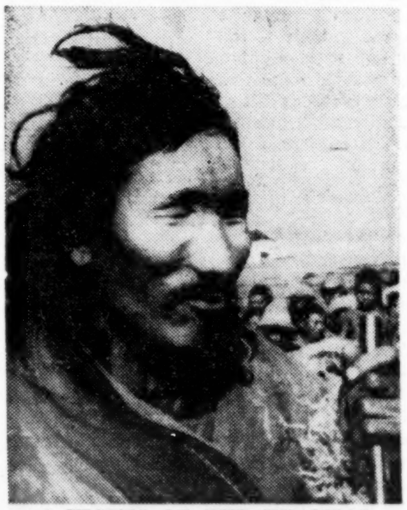
ON THE DAY the Dalai Lama reached Tezpur on the northeastern frontier of India (April 18), the Press Trust of India reported that correspondents cabled 30,000 words "mostly for destination outside India." That would be about two words for each of the 14,000 lamas who started the abortive revolt which hit the world's headlines because it served the purposes of the cold war. Millions of words have since been written and broadcast—from Indian cities and even from far off Taipeh, Hong Kong and Tokyo—which would more than make up for every one of the 200,000 lamas in Tibet ruling over 1,200,000 subjects, physically and spiritually.

In all these millions of words, there was none for the ordinary Tibetan peasant who gulps pills made out of the night soil of the lamas as medicine (**Sachitra Ayurveda,** an Indian medical journal, Jan., 1959) and labors in freezing cold over windswept plateaus to produce wealth for the monasteries and the landed gentry.

How the lamas fatten on the peasants' labor can be glimpsed in the breakfast and luncheon menu of the Dalai Lama, as reported by the **Times of India** (April 19). His breakfast consists of corn flakes, toast, eggs, jam, fruits, canned milk and coffee; for lunch he has fresh orange cocktail, soup, fish, breaded mutton chops, vegetables, chicken curry, rice pilaf, lentils, crispy papadam cakes, chutneys, ice cream, rosogolla (cottage cheese sweetmeats soaked in syrup) and coffee. Tibet's Living Buddhas eat meat and canned food and enjoy all other modern conveniences, but they know that modernization of the whole country would doom their privileges.

A hell on earth

They mine gold which no one else dares do for fear of infuriating the living gods, and distribute to the people magical hymns and talismans learned in the "medical" school at Chakpoti, Lhasa.



A VICTIM OF THE KHAMBAS
The rebels gouged his eyes out

Lamaism is really as different from Buddhism as Gautama, the Buddha, was from his present incarnations. No independent observer would disagree with Chinese Premier Chou En-lai when he said:

"The Tibetan reactionaries often put on pious airs and promise everyone a place in heaven while they turned Tibet into a hell on earth, and they want to force the Tibetan people to live perpetually in the abysmal darkness of a life of barbarism and cruelty worse than that of the Middle Ages in Europe."

The flood of press reports added nothing to what Peking itself had admitted:

- The revolt was started and led by the ruling clique, surrounding the Dalai Lama, which controlled the Tibetan local government and barred progress.
- The Dalai faced no threat to his personal position as spiritual or even temporal ruler of the people; he was aware of Peking's strength as well as the need for progress in Tibet and had advised his retinue to cease anti-Peking actions.
- The clique surrounding the Dalai miscalculated its own strength and mistakenly relied on support from abroad.
- Although the Dalai tried to avoid a showdown, he was ultimately prevailed on by his near relations and mentors to flee to India.
- Peking has kept the door open for him to return and enjoy his godhood, but with new and sensible advisers.
- The nomadic and terroristic Khamba tribesmen furnished the strong arm of the revolt.
- The revolt was inspired and perhaps aided by the prospects of support from the exiled Tibetan gang which inhabits the border districts of India and the Taiwan stragglers relying upon Dulles' successors.

The press reports

Before the Indian press and parliament became involved in the controversy about India being the base of Tibetan reactionaries, local and foreign newsmen were more honest in their reporting. They reported about (1) the trouble the Khambas were brewing; (2) spies and shady deals in Kalimpong; (3) the seven-year planning of the revolt; (4) the Tibetan independence declaration and formation of a provisional government; (5) the airdropping of arms to the rebels by Chiang Kai-shek's henchmen; (6) the frenzied activities of the Dalai Lama's brothers and other princes in India.

The story they told then was essentially simple. Even before Peking reasserted its authority, the social setup in Tibet had become rotten to the core and the feudal theocracy had no strength left to introduce reforms or to regenerate itself. During 1945-50, the land was torn by the Regent's intrigues, the rebellion of the monks of Sera and Deprung monasteries, revolts in central and eastern Tibet and the rivalry between the Dalai and the Panchen Lamas.

The collapsing system so obviously needed to be replaced that even some of the wealthier Tibetans wanted a change. Tsarong Sa-pe, the wealthiest Tibetan, confidant of the 13th Dalai Lama and Prime Minister of Tibet for the longest period, welcomed the Chinese occupation "because they would force the changes we ourselves have failed to undertake" (**Times of India,** March 29).

Plenty of time

When the Chinese People's Liberation Army entered Tibet, only a few panicky nobles fled. Most of the country's leaders stayed at their posts. The people welcomed the forces—fully aware that they were different from previous invaders—and pressed for reforms the ruling clique had opposed till then. Several elder statesmen collaborated with Peking's representatives in implementing urgently needed reforms which benefitted a large number of people.

Peking apparently was in no hurry to ring out the old and ring in the new. The Dalai Lama fled to the Indo-Tibetan border (as all previous Dalai Lamas had done at the slightest sign of change or trouble) and negotiated with Peking's representatives from a distance. But the latter persuaded him to send a delegation to Peking to sign the 17-point agreement by which he accepted Tibet as an integral part of China and the Tibetans as one of the many nationalities within the boundaries of China.

Peking postponed the question of land reform and changes in the social system, but the different character of the central government was bound to stir changes in Tibet and drag it out of its isolation.

Peking in 1954

The first attempts to modernize Tibet's communications, education, farming, medical and industrial systems made the vested interests apprehensive. The ruling group and the high echelon lamas did not want the Dalai Lama to go to Peking in 1954; during his absence the Khambas revolted and Prime Minister Khangwa fled to India. On his return, the Dalai rebuked the Khambas and advised them to be peaceable.

The main challenge to central authority in Tibet comes from these nomadic Khambas, who are fierce fighters inhabiting the province of Kham in southeastern Tibet. They roam with small arms in public (against government regulations), terrorize villagers, pilgrims and traders from India, blow up bridges and lie in ambush for merchandise and arms. Last autumn they wrested control of a major portion of the Lhasa-Peking highway. Ironically, the same Indian newsman who thus described the Khambas earlier, after a visit to Tibet, now says that they "are the fighters for freedom, who have vowed to liberate Tibet from foreign domination."

The revolt

On March 10 of this year, the Dalai Lama was ready to attend a performance in the auditorium of the Tibetan Military Area Command of the Chinese Army (PLA). He himself has said he had agreed a month earlier to attend. But rebels spread the rumor that the PLA had ordered him to go without an escort because they planned to kidnap him.

Taking advantage of the vast crowd gathered in Lhasa to celebrate Tibet's national festival, they surrounded the Dalai's palace, cut him off from contact with the PLA, declared an armed revolt for Tibetan independence and prevailed on the 24-year-old Dalai to go to India.

The PLA took no action for a few days—many foreign observers found this surprising—and then speedily crushed the revolt. Whether they should have suppressed the revolt or not would seem to be no concern of outsiders, since it was China's own internal affair.

TIBET'S MEDICINE MEN TODAY USE MORE SANITARY METHODS
A Chinese-trained medical worker treats a patient in Lhasa

CHINESE SOLDIERS HELP TIBETAN PEA
The Liberation Army regards their

The **Times of India** (April 7) carried this report:

"The Dalai Lama . . . had spoken against an armed rebellion and advised negotiations. [This] was the policy the Chinese wanted him to follow. According to a high-ranking Tibetan official who has fled his country, on March 9 and 10 there were demonstrations against his going to China . . . to attend the National People's Congress to which he had been invited. On March 14 the Khamba rebels came to within 25 miles of Lhasa.

"Most members of Dalai Lama's cabinet and spiritual leaders strongly expressed themselves against his following the Chinese line. **This time he had to say to which side he belonged.** The ministers, however, knew that if he remained in Lhasa, the Chinese were bound to get hold of him and use him . . . The only way to get him out of their control was to get him out of Tibet. It was then that his dramatic escape was planned. His palace, the Potala, was surrounded by the Tibetan (not Chinese) army. Inside the palace, there were no Chinese. Small batches of his top men began escaping from the Potala on the 16th. On the 17th night he himself emerged and began his journey."

The above quotation appears to be closest to truth; nothing that has subsequently appeared in the "news" has contradicted it.

The Dalai in Tezpur

In his 1,400-word statement to the press in Tezpur on April 18, the Dalai avoided the thorny question of the letters of appeal he had written to the PLA Command and which were released by Peking. (Premier Nehru later said the Dalai had admitted writing them). Regarding his attitude toward the revolt while he was still in Lhasa, the Dalai said that Tibetans always desired "independence," and that the 17-point agreement was made "under pressure" because "there was no alternative left to the Tibetans." He added that the 10,000 people surrounding his palace, Norbulsingka, "physically prevented him from attending the function" and that, although he "tried to carry out negotiations with the Chinese representatives," he left Lhasa

y happened

AN PEASANTS WITH THE HARVEST
their neighbors as their kinfolk

voluntarily "when his advisers became alive to the danger to his person."

The Tezpur statement contained several contradictions. The Dalai Lama escaped from Potala and not from Norbulsingka. It was the rebels who cut him off from the PLA Command, with whom his correspondence passed with difficulty. His letters express anxiety over the rebels' attitude and he left everyone wondering what other "negotiations" he had "tried to carry out" with the PLA.

In retrospect it would seem clear that the rebels considered the 17-point agreement with Peking an imposition and wanted complete independence for Tibet. The Dalai would appear to have been unwilling to listen to them; but, by placing him at their mercy the rebels compelled him to "choose" his side and prevailed on him to flee to India.

The stone images

The Dalai Lama is considered—and considers himself—to be not a man but a god. An Indian observer sardonically said:

"Images are stolen from temples and installed wherever the priests want. Eighty people can easily take away a living image, just as a few hundred people took the huge stone images up the mountain in old days."

Tibet's relations to Peking has undergone a variety of interpretations because so far there has been no written, systematic history of the country. Available evidence, however, indicates that Tibet has long been a part of China.

Buddhism came to Tibet from Nepal, the alphabet from Kashmir and medicine and arithmetic from China. In 1247 A.D., Kublai Khan conquered Tibet and started the lama rule by investing Pakpa with powers over the Tibetans. The system of priestly incarnation began in the 15th century when the Mongol chief Tumet gave the third lama, Sonam Gyatso, the title of Dalai Lama Vajradhar (the all-embracing lama, thunderbolt bearer, ocean of wisdom).

A nation sealed off

In 1641, the fifth Lama established the present line of priest-kings and built the gigantic Potala palace three years later. The Chinese came in 1718 to help the Tibetans expel the invading Mongols. They accepted tribute from Tibet and instituted an **amban** (resident-representative) who shared in the government and in the selection of the Dalai Lama; the latter received spiritual homage from the Chinese in return.

THE ANNUAL BUDDHIST SUMMONS CEREMONY OBSERVED AS USUAL IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF FREEDOM
This photo was taken on April 25, 1959, before the Tachao Monastery in Tibet

China sealed Tibet from all foreign influence in 1792 for fear of the British who had overrun much of India and threatened the Chinese. In 1893 Britain recognized China's suzerainty over Tibet in return for Chinese recognition of Tibet's autonomy because the British feared the growing influence of Czarist Russia on India's border. During the next 47 years, Tibet's status fluctuated with changes in British-Russian-Chinese relations and the Dalai Lama took refuge in India or China, whichever seemed safer. In 1940, the Dalai Lama was again enthroned in Lhasa with China's support.

During the past 12 centuries, Tibet also established closer trade and cultural contacts with its neighbors, India and Nepal, who sometimes exercised political influence over it. But by and large, China had suzerainty; it was of prime importance to China because of the religious authority exercised by the Dalai in Tibet, Mongolia and Manchuria. Of course, as everywhere else in the world during the Middle Ages, the extent of the local ruler's authority depended on the strength or weakness of the central government.

Decades of intrigue

Between 1912 and 1950, when China was in the throes of revolution, civil war, Japanese invasion followed again by civil war, its control over its vast territories varied. Tibet then became the center of foreign intrigue and was racked by internal dissensions, Khamba terrorism and a rapidly deteriorating social system.

On May 22, 1950, the Peking radio broadcast an appeal to the Tibetans to achieve the peaceful liberation of Tibet. The broadcast warned against "slanders of the British and American imperialistic bloc aimed at sowing discord between nationalities" and assured Tibetans that Peking was "fully considerate of the interests and traditions of all the component nationalities of the People's Republic of China."

At a press conference on March 13, 1951, Nehru said that the Dalai's representatives were on their way to Peking for discussions and confirmed Peking's belief that Tibet was an integral but autonomous part of China. On May 23, 1951, a Peking-Lhasa argeement was effected on "measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet." During all this time, there was no hint that the Dalai Lama was signing the agreement under duress.

Those who speak of duress refer to Peking's relationship with Tibet as one of suzerainty rather than sovereignty. But the word suzerainty is misleading in this context and the phrase "regional autonomy" is meaningless without understanding the Marxist concept of national autonomy, which naturally forms the basis of the Chinese outlook.

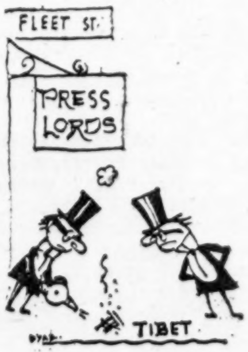
What autonomy means

Regional autonomy in a socialist state is primarily cultural, educational and linguistic—not political or economic. It recognizes equality of nationalities and, far from paying lip service to this equality, believes in laying the foundations for the exercise of that equality by a speedier development of backward or suppressed nationalities in the educational and cultural fields.

Such autonomy does not include the right to demand national exclusiveness or to maintain economic or political backwardness. No part of a socialist state is exempted from the social, political and economic revolution brought about by socialism in other parts of the state, or from the over-all economic planning of the central government. In the case of Tibet, Peking actually bent over backwards to be patient with those in power because it recognized the utterly primitive state of the country and did not wish to speed reforms which might be too rigorous for the people.

It is indeed important to realize that suzerainty is an out-of-date concept belonging to the Middle Ages and is as alien to capitalist democracy as to Marxism. Even New Delhi integrated the Indian princes' territories with the rest of India, sometimes against the wishes of the rulers.

Perhaps the Living Buddhas at Lhasa did not realize that they were signing away their right to keep their kingdom in isolation from China as their exclusive preserve. Perhaps their ignorance of modern political theories caused them to ignore the implications of a common citizenship with the other nationalities of China. But the fact remains that, when they agreed to "'return the Tibetan people to their motherland," they lost their privileges in Lhasa, even as their people gained the right to be included in China's overall planned development.



Dyad, London Daily Worker
"WOOD'S WET"

A shock for Buddha

The most persistent charge made against Peking is that it has desecrated Tibet's "greatest possession, the religious faith so arduously derived from India." But Lord Buddha would hardly recognize what is practiced in his name by lamaism.

Buddhism was a revolt against the ceremonialism, hypocrisy and hierarchy of Brahmanism. Buddha preached simplicity and non-ostentation in life. Lamas and Living Buddhas in Tibet live in luxury. The wealthy nobility round in monasteries exploit the peasantry in typical feudal manner. Slavery was practiced until Peking abolished it a few years back.

The first change made by Peking was to end Tibet's isolation by constructing two great new highways winding over the world's highest mountains: the 1,400-mile Kangting-Tibet highway and the 1,300-mile Chinghai-Tibet highway. Then came the Lhasa-Peking airline and a network of radio-telephonic communications. Now by land and through the skies irresistibly flow new people, new ideas and new goods.

Peking has built hospitals and health centers, and mobile medical teams go into villages and pastures to treat and give preventive injections to men and cattle. Experimental farms are now growing better crops on hitherto untilled land, and demonstrating new methods of agriculture. Peasants are receiving interest-free loans, free seed, implements, advice. Tractors have appeared where no wheeled vehicle existed before.

Why they hate Peking

A hydro-electric station on the Lhasa river has ushered in modern industry. A serum factory manufactures bio-chemicals and a tannery processes the abundant hides and skins. Small ironworks turn out improved agricultural implements. Surveys have revealed over 30 varieties of mineral reserves in the plateau and enormous power potential. Trade practices have been regularized so Tibetans can no longer be fleeced by Indian and Nepali traders for their products.

It is not surprising that Lamas who were medicine-men, the landed nobles, the Indian merchants and all those who fattened on the ignorance and superstition of the Tibetans are up in arms against Peking and are invoking divine wrath against Peking's "indoctrination" of the people of Tibet.

Thus the conflict in Tibet is not between central autocracy and regional autonomy; it is between the old and the new. It is the attempt of the central government to foster "regional national autonomy and democratic reform . . . step by step in Tibet." That is what Chou En-lai told the People's Congress on April 18, the very day the Dalai Lama arrived in India with his retinue of fleeing lamas and archaic noblemen.

BOOKS

Vacation-time reading for the younger folks

By happenstance rather than by deliberate choice, the books for youth reviewed this week were written, illustrated or published by friends of the GUARDIAN—a circumstance which we are frank to say gives us extra satisfaction. We may be just as frank in saying that we consider the prices of all of them at least $1 too high, and wish we could offer discounts on all.

BIRTH OF AN ISLAND, by Millicent E. Selsam, designed and illustrated by Winifred Lubell. Harper & Bros., 49 E 33rd St., N.Y. 47 pp. $2.50.

Sturdily stitched and bound, printed on 7x9 in. stock designed to resist wear and tear, this is a carefully written and scientifically sound story of what happens when volcanic action sends new land up through the surface of the sea. It is beautifully and profusely illustrated in many colors, with whole pages and occasionally double pages of seascapes, bird, insect and animal life integrated with the text.

The story tells how a new island is formed, how wind and water and bird and sea life combine to clothe the naked volcanic soil with seeds and spores and insect life, until at last there is humus, then green growth, then animal life.

An interesting chart (drawn like a spiral-back notebook) shows what animal life scientists actually found on an island 38 years after it rose from the sea: 441 kinds of insects, 73 of spiders, 34 of birds but only three species of mammals—two kinds of rats, which came ashore with the scientists, and a family of bats. The development of unique species (such as purple swallows) on such isolated islands is clearly and pictorially explained.

Birth of an Island is a fine background for such later reading as Darwin's **Voyage of the Beagle** or Rachel Carson's **The Sea Around Us.**

• • •

MARY JANE, by Dorothy Sterling; illustrated by Ernest Crichlow. Doubleday & Co., Garden City, N.Y. 214 pp. $2.75.

Mrs. Sterling is co-author with photographer Myron Ehrenburg of **Tender Warriors**, the pictorial story of the struggles of the youth of the South, white and Negro, for integration in their schools. Mary Jane is one of six Negro children entering a previously all-white junior-senior high school in High Ridge, in a southern state. The first days are rough indeed, as at Central High in Little Rock, but the outside troubles trickle out after a few raucous days.

Inside, a girl named Darlene, a Mothers League offspring, makes Mary Jane's life as miserable as possible, but another girl named Sally more than makes up for it by becoming Mary Jane's "best friend." This friendship takes some cruel turns, as when Sally's parents, under neighborhood pressure, confine the friendship to the school grounds, but it takes some delightful ones too.

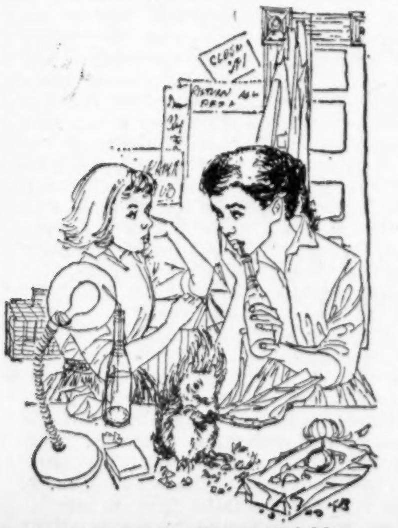


Illustration by Ernest Crichlow from Mary Jane

The Junior High Science Club solves some of Mary Jane's problems. When field trips are being planned, Mary Jane has to remind them that the park is barred to her, and that the museum has a special day for colored, "so you just go ahead and make your plans without me." There is some startled discussion, but finally the club president proposes a resolution (which you will cheer) which passes, 11-1.

And when Sally and Mary Jane undertake a project for the Science Fair involving the training of white mice, the president proposes a sign for the exhibit, from his own experience:

"If White Mice Can Learn, So Can You."

Mrs. Sterling, author of a dozen or more children's books as well as mysteries for adults, won the 1958 Nancy Bloch Award for **Captain of the Planter,** as the book of the year "which best fosters intergroup understanding among children." Ernest Crichlow's illustrations are warm and understanding.

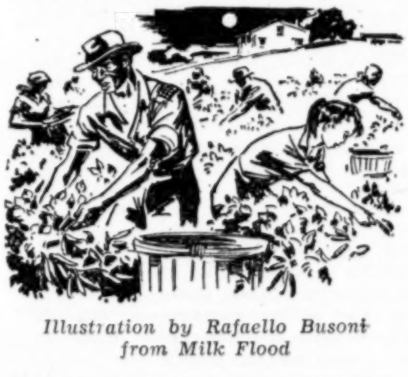


Illustration by Rafaello Busoni from Milk Flood

MILK FLOOD, by Paul Corey; illustrated by Rafaello Busoni. Abelard-Schuman, 404 Fourth Ave., N.Y. 16. 189 pp. $2.50.

So eminent an admirer as Rockwell Kent has said of **Milk Flood:** "The book has great educational value as a picture of farm life and the serious social problems that confront our farmers; and the great power to drive its message home in that it is so exciting that no kid or grown-up, having started it, could put it down until he's finished." Artist Kent is also an upstate New York milk farmer, the setting and subject of **Milk Flood.**

The title is descriptive of the period when the dairy herds are in spring pasture and the year's heaviest milk flow results. The hero is Emery Crane, 18, and his girl is Mary Spivac, same age. The villain is the "A.D." (Associated Dairymen), and to any farmer on the New York milkshed, the name would be a thin disguise for the Dairymen's League. The A.D.'s game at milk-flood time is to turn back the small producer's milk for "smell" or some other such reason, to soften him up for a lower price or to sell out to one of the big producers. When Emery's father and other small dairymen try to fight this by setting up a cooperative of their own, plenty of dirty work results, but Emery, Mary and a youthful ally they win over from the A.D.'s ranks expose the dirty-workers.

The author, like many other writers for youth, looks hopefully to the coming generations to clean up the messes their elders have left behind. As for excitement and clear meanings, Rockwell Kent is right as rain. The Rafaello Busoni illustrations are numerous and full of life and love for the farmland, its folk and all their chattels, from Holsteins to surcingle milkers.

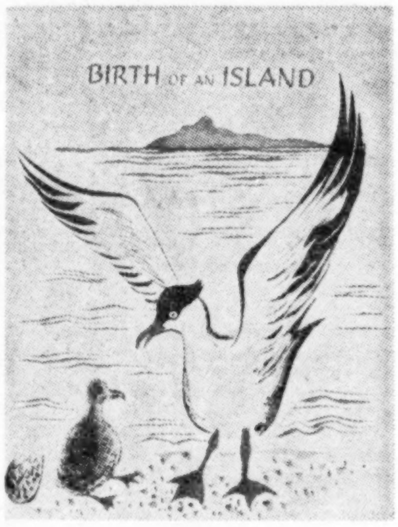


Illustration by Winifred Lubell from Birth of An Island

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CHERRY HOUSE and HARK THE HERALD ANGEL. Both by Alberta Armer, illustrated by Winifred Madison. Arlington Books Inc., 30 Arlington St., Cambridge 40, Mass. $2.75 each.

The author of both these books is a teacher and writer who devoted several post-graduate years to settlement-house work in New York.

Cherry House, a 48-pp. 7x9 in. book which opens the long way, is a gentle story of a day-by-day search for beauty in their surroundings by the children of Miss Primrose's story-telling group in a lower East Side settlement house in New York. Each finds beauty—in such commonplace things as each other's smiles, a baby's new tooth, flowers in coffee-can window boxes, and in extraordinary sights such as red and blue diapers on a clothes-line.

Even tough little Pat eventually admits to finding beauty. He says it is a little tree, trying to grow in an alley. But really it is Miss Primrose herself. Mrs. Madison's illustrations, starting on the jacket and inside the covers and continuing throughout, are lovely pen drawings, some against color backgrounds.

Hark the Herald Angel came to little Linda in a dream while she slept in her bed in an orphanage dormitory, and kissed her on the forehead. Oddly, when she woke, Hark seemed to her to have looked a great deal like Dr. Simon, who smoked a pipe and came once a week but more often if one of the girls was ill. Again, Mrs. Madison's charming drawings, most of them against a heavenly blue which looks very well on Dr. Simon, help to bring Linda's tall tale to an overwhelmingly happy ending, just at Christmas time. **–John T. McManus**

Must for parents

AN EXAMPLE of how paperbacks proliferate is Nancy Larrick's **A Parents' Guide to Children's Reading** (Pocket Books Inc., Rockefeller Center, N.Y. 45c). Miss Larrick, teacher, lecturer, former president of the International Reading Ass'n., was requested to write the book by the non-profit Natl. Book Committee. Doubleday did the hard cover edition, Pocket Books the paper, simultaneously in late 1958. Since then there have been four printings, with total sales of over over 400,000. The contents help the parent with guides, ideas and selected titles for ages from baby-carriage to high schoool; what you should read to children and what to guide them to on their own. One helpful section is called "Let's look it up!"; others: "Substitutes for the Comics"; "Building a Home Library" and, finally, "Books, Pamphlets and Films for Parents." The thoroughgoing index is also a who's who of good writers for children. Deserves a place beside your Spock, Gesell or what have you.

Book notes

SING OUT (Vol. 8, No. 4, Spring, 1959, Edition) has Richard Dyer-Bennett on the cover and words and music inside to **The Vicar of Bray** from Dyer-Bennett's album as well as to ten other new or freshly discovered folk and children's songs. One, **The Harp Is In the Air,** ventures to rhyme and set to a tune the theme of Sean O'Casey's article of last January in the N.Y. **Times** magazine. Articles by editor Irwin Silber, Pete Seeger, others, including an interview with Harry Belafonte. Price 50c (44 pp.) Sing Out, 121 W. 47th St. New York 36.

• • •

THE UNMARRIED MOTHER. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 282, is aimed at people who may be asked for advice on a problem such as faced 193,000 women and girls in the U.S. in 1956. The advice suggested is worldly and wise, pencilled illustrations by Alexander Dobkin are lovely. The authors are Ruth L. Butcher, executive director of Inwood House in New York City and past chairman of the Natl. Assn. on Service to Unmarried Parents; and Marion O. Robinson, writer on social welfare topics. Price 25c. Public Affairs Pamphlets, 22 E. 38th St., New York City 16.

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THE LATEST ISSUE of the **Southern Patriot,** organ of the Southern Conference Education Fund, carried an arresting photograph captioned, "Alone but eager in their pursuit of knowledge." It pictures five Negro youths in a class at the Warren County High School at Front Royal, Va. They are some of the 21 Negro students attending the 1,000-pupil school. All through this school term, foes of integration have enforced a boycott of the school by 1,000 white students. The SCEF has asked that letters of encouragement be sent to the 21 youths blazing the integration trail in the face of heart-rending handicaps. Communications may be sent to them through Dr. James A. Dombrowski, director, Southern Conference Education Fund, 822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La.

The Face of War

DESPITE OFFICIAL DRIVEL about clean bombs and tactical nuclear weapons, anyone who can read a newspaper or listen to a radio knows that some of us mortals have the power to destroy the human race and man's home on earth. We need not make war; only by preparing, by playing with our new weapons, we poison the air, the water, the soil of our planet, damage the health of the living, and weaken the chances of the unborn. How can anyone, anywhere, discount the irreversible folly of testing our nuclear bombs, or the promise of extinction if we use them in war?

—Martha Gellhorn, former wife of Ernest Hemingway, in **The Face of War,** a collection of her reporting of the War in Spain and World War II for Collier's; Simon & Schuster, N.Y. 224 pp. $3.75.

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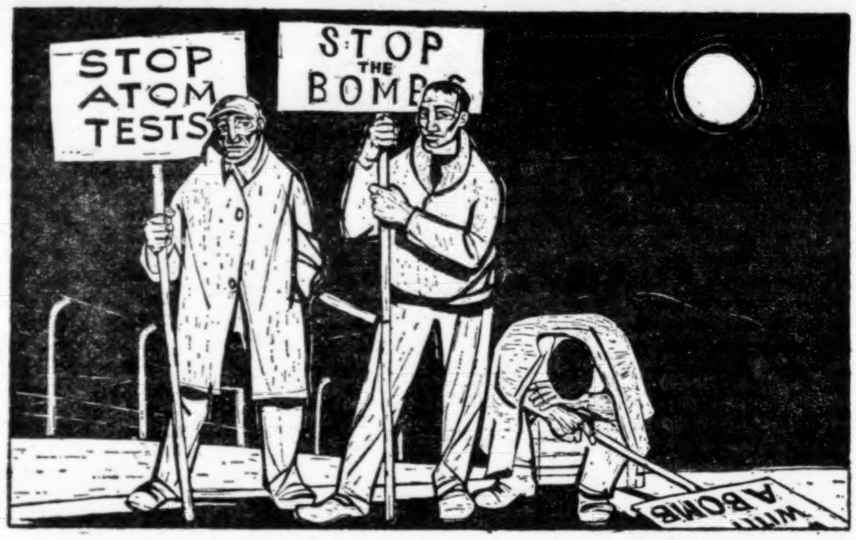
THINKING OF BUILDING? Dodge Books, 119 W. 40 St., N.Y. 18, offers its third annual volume of the outstanding contemporary houses of 1958 as selected by the editors of **Architectural Record.** Twenty houses were selected; each is portrayed in six pages of text and photographs. A 226 pp. 9x12 in. book, it comes wrapped in clear plastic for $2.95 . . . How America looked in 1876-8 to Henry Sienkiewicz, author of **Quo Vadis,** is told in a volume published recently for the first time in English by Columbia University Press. Titled **Portrait of America,** it is based on letters assembled by Prof. Julian Kryzanowski and published originally in Warsaw in 1950 as Vols. 41 and 42 of the author's collected works. The English edition was translated by Prof. Charles Morley of Ohio State Univ.



Neues Deutschland, Berlin

Linoleum cut by Frank Glaser

The Geneva meeting

(Continued from Page 1)

nitely or until Germany is finally united."

THE PESSIMISTS: Nevertheless, the inspired stories poured out of Geneva that the conference was on its last leg; that a summit meeting was now uncertain because Eisenhower had made it conditional on tangible progress at Geneva. Gromyko noted the trend and said on June 12 that the only connection between the Geneva conference and a summit meeting was this: "No obstacles should be laid down on the road toward the conference of the heads of government."

The statement found much support in Britain. The **Sunday Pictorial** said "a summit conference is all the more necessary if the foreign ministers remain bogged down." A commentator in **The People** noted that from the private meetings at Geneva "one conclusion emerges clearly: The Russians are game for any amount of economic competition and do not want a shooting war with nuclear bombs."

THE DISRUPTERS: It is not too difficult to see who thought they stood to gain if Geneva failed and there were no summit.

- French President de Gaulle, who demands nuclear weapons, NATO support for the Algerian war and equal voice for France in the West's global commitments.
- West German Chancellor Adenauer, who has "recommended" a four-week recess at Geneva (during which he hopes to commit the Western powers to hold firm on West Berlin and to bar an atom-free zone in Central Europe).
- The American advocates of "limited war" and continued nuclear weapons tests.

On the day that the Western and Soviet delegates were reported (**Times**, June 11) to have "moved closer during a thirty-minute session of the three-power conference on a ban on tests," U.S. Atomic Energy Commission chairman John A. McCone arrived in Geneva to "sit in on negotiation sessions." This was hardly a coincidence.

Since the AEC has raised strenuous objections to British Prime Minister Macmillan's compromise test ban inspection plan, McCone's arrival had a familiar ring. It was gloomily reminiscent of the late John Foster Dulles' arrival in Britain to disrupt the London disarmament conference when Harold Stassen had virtually reached an agreement with the Soviet delegates. After McCone's arrival, the U.S. delegation began stressing the need for more on-site inspections and further guarantees in the proposal to detect underground tests before any agreement on a test ban treaty.

HUMPHREY SAYS IT: In the Senate on June 4 Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) made a detailed and devastating analysis of the arguments of the advocates of limited war and those who "question the wisdom" of a test ban agreement even "as the three nuclear powers move closer to [such] an agreement."

Humphrey said: "I do not agree with those who say that the control system cannot be made to work." He pinpointed the weaknesses in the arguments of those who believe that "war with the Soviet Union and perhaps Communist China [is] probable" and demand continued tests to develop "a large family of tactical nuclear weapons" because big H-bombs are "too powerful" and conventional armaments are "not powerful enough." Humphrey noted:

- Moscow also has a large supply of such nuclear weapons: "The idea that small nuclear weapons will give us a decisive military advantage in a war in which both sides use nuclear weapons is fallacious."
- A war with Russia or China "would probably not remain a limited war." Advocates of limited atomic war "are thinking primarily in terms of conflict on territory controlled neither by the U.S. nor by the Soviet Union . . . It is not at all clear that third parties welcome the idea of being used as a nuclear battlefield."
- A high Foreign Service official said recently: "A military policy that reaches for nuclear weapons as its main ingredient is a self-defeating policy in that it guarantees a dead Europe . . ."

Humphrey said he shuddered to think of the military situation that would confront the world "if several other nations achieved nuclear weapons and missile delivery capability of their own." He felt it imperative "to limit the membership of the nuclear power club."

Clemens J. France is dead at 82

DR. CLEMENS J. FRANCE, long-time progressive and enthusiastic supporter of the GUARDIAN since its first issue, died of a heart attack on June 9 at his summer home at Sebec Lake, Me. He was 82. He had been in retirement since 1953.

He was graduated from Hamilton College, Clinton, N.Y., in 1898, and also took his master's degree there. He earned his Ph.D. at Clark University, Worcester, Mass., and his law degree at Baltimore Law School.

Following army service in World War I, he was appointed to the Relief Commission to Ireland and, at the request of President Eamon de Valera, served on the commission that drafted the constitution of the Irish Free State.

After serving as a salesman and manager in the advertising department of the N.Y. **Times** from 1927 to 1929, he settled in Rhode Island where he became a leader in a movement for prison reform. In 1936 he was appointed Social Welfare Director for the state, a post he held until 1948 when he resigned to run for governor on the Progressive Party ticket. Thereafter he practiced law in Providence until his retirement.

HONORED BY GUARDIAN: In 1951 Dr. France became chairman of the Committee to Aid Constitutional Challenges of the McCarran Act and he was a member of the Natl. Lawyers Guild and the Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

In 1957 he was a guest of honor at the GUARDIAN's annual dinner where he was toasted as the senior member of the Fighting France family and a "local boy who made good in the great State of Rhode Island." The France brothers—Clemens, Royal and the late Sen. Joseph France of Maryland—were all born in New York.

In his last communication to this paper, published in the June 8 issue, he speculated on the source of evil in this country and concluded that "greed and love of humanity cannot coexist."

Metropolitan Music School begins new term June 22

THE METROPOLITAN Music School, 18 W. 74th St., is accepting registration for the Summer Session beginning June 22 for eight weeks. Individual instruction will be given in voice, piano, jazz piano, accordion and other instruments, plus a wide range of theoretical subjects. Both afternoon and evening instruction will be offered. Information may be obtained by writing to the registrar, or by calling TRafalgar 3-2761.

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Hospital strike

(Continued from Page 1)

establish grievance machinery; and regularize vacation and other benefits.

The hospitals—Mt. Sinai, Beth Israel, Lenox Hill, Beth David, Flower-Fifth Av., Bronx and Brooklyn Jewish—are voluntary (non-profit) institutions. Officials claim they run at huge deficits. Ward beds, they say, cost $26.34 a day to maintain. But the City pays them only $16 a day for indigent patients. If the City paid the full cost of this care, they hint, they could raise wages. In anticipation of an increase to $20 a day from the City on July 1, the hospitals raised wages to $1 an hour and instituted overtime after the strikers walked out.

In any case, the hospitals maintain, they are exempt (but not prohibited) by state and Federal law from dealing with unions. To recognize a union, hospital officials say, would be abdication of their responsibilities to an outside party and would impair hospital functions.

THE UNION'S CASE: The union points out that more than 50 voluntary hospitals across the country have signed union contracts without impairing their efficiency. Two months ago the union signed agreements with two hospitals in New York. At one, Maimonides Hospital, executive director Dr. J. A. Katzive says: "We've had absolutely no problems at all. Relations with the union have been entirely satisfactory."

At the other, Montefiore Hospital, Dr. Martin Cherkasky reports: "To date it's going very well. It certainly hasn't had any adverse effect."

The union pledges a no-strike clause if a contract is signed.

Support for the strikers has come from these organizations: NAACP; American Civil Liberties Union; Urban League; Americans for Democratic Action; Committee Against Exploitation of Puerto Rican Workers; Assn. of Reform Rabbis; Dept. of Christian Relations of N.Y. Protestant Council; Physicians Forum and the Natl. Sharecroppers Fund.

SOLIDARITY: Almost unprecedented help has come from the city's labor movement. More than $40,000 has been contributed to the strike fund, other unionists have joined the picket line and scores of locals have sent food.

Almost all New York papers are opposed to the strike; most blame the union. Harry A. Van Arsdale, president of the AFL-CIO Central Labor Council, has charged that the Roman Catholic Church was helping to block union recognition.

Mayor Robert F. Wagner set up a fact-finding committee to look into the dispute. On June 9 it presented both sides with a compromise solution: (1) agreement for no strikes or lockouts; (2) employes to be entitled to grievance machinery with each side appointing a grievance adjuster and these two to select a third; (3) wage increases effective June 1 to raise minimums to $1 an hour; (4) employes to have a right 60 days before June 1, 1960, through their chosen representatives, to present management with their views on wages, hours and working conditions; (5) strikers to be rehired without prejudice.

NEITHER SIDE HAPPY: At first look both sides seemed dissatisfied. To the hospitals it meant de facto union recognition. For the union it seemed to establish the right only to petition management.

As the proposals were being presented at City Hall, commencement exercises were to begin uptown at N.Y. Medical College, which owns Flower-Fifth Av. Hospital. From the college marched 175 gowned students and faculty to the Academy of Medicine hall where ceremonies were to be held. About 100 pickets watched by 40 police hooted at the procession and waved signs reading, "We can't send our kids to college on $34 a week."

When some pickets tailed after the procession, police rushed them, nightsticks flying. In the melee that followed several pickets were roughed up and some were arrested for assault and disorderly conduct.

THE TIP-OFF: Scores of reporters and photographers were on hand. The N.Y. **Times** (June 10) said: "Before the procession, the college had sent notices to newspapers that pictures could be made of the procession as it crossed the picket line."

On June 12 both sides scored victories in court. The Appellate Division upheld contempt sentences of 15 days in jail and $250 fines for Leon J. Davis, president of the striking local, and business agent George Goodman for violating an injunction won by Brooklyn Jewish. The same day Supreme Court Justice Henry Epstein turned down a request by the five Manhattan hospitals for an injunction on the ground that the strike was a "bona fide labor dispute." He called the hospitals' attitude "an echo of the 19th century." Both sides said they would appeal.

Later that day a meeting of the steering committee of the Greater New York Hospital Assn., which has been directing the hospitals' strategy, agreed to accept, with reservations and amendment, the Mayor's committee findings.

THE TRUSTEES' ROLE: Union officials were also willing to accept the formula as the basis for "further negotiations." But Davis warned that if a settlement were not reached "within the next few days," the strike would spread to other institutions. He said trustees of non-struck hospitals were "exerting financial pressures to keep struck hospitals from reaching a fair settlement."

The N.Y. **Herald Tribune** reported earlier that many of the hospital administrators (paid officials) favor settlement, but the trustees, who have the final say, oppose union recognition. The union has extended its picketing to the private businesses of the trustees.

On June 15 both sides met separately with Mayor Wagner. The hospital association's steering committee presented its "interpretation" of the Mayor's peace formula. The union said it felt a settlement could be reached through direct negotiations with the struck hospitals. Wagner asked for a joint meeting June 16 in his office to start negotiations. For the hospitals he asked that only representatives of the struck institutions appear. At GUARDIAN press time the hospitals had not answered. Wagner said: "We still have a long way to go for settlement."

A BIG QUESTION: Matters threatened to get worse when Local 144 of the AFL-CIO Hotel and Allied Service Employes demanded recognition at the city's 37 proprietary (profit-making) hospitals. Six hospitals agreed quickly, but when the union threatened to strike the rest, City Labor Commissioner Harold A. Felix brought both sides together for talks.

In addition, Local 302 of the AFL-CIO American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employes asked for recognition at Brooklyn Hospital; Commissioner Felix again stepped in to mediate.

In the Davis-Goodman case Justice Henry Epstein put seven questions to the hospitals. One seemed to put the issue squarely: "Is it not possible that the hospitals have really penalized the patients by refusing to deal with the union?"

N.Y. MEDICAL COLLEGE GRADUATES GOT A SOCIOLOGY LESSON FROM POLICE WHO MANHANDLED PICKETS

Strikers told the new doctors as they marched to commencement: "We can't send our kids to college on $34 a week." At the exercises Brig. Gen. Carlos P. Romulo of the Philippines spoke on "The Case for Freedom."

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MINNEAPOLIS

HESTER MEMORIAL SERVICE
for the late Rev. Harold Hicks Hester, age 76, will be held in First Unitarian Church of Minneapolis on Tues., June 23, at 8 p.m. A Peace & Friendship Memorial Fund has been established in his memory. Family prefers memorials to this fund, c/o Julia Lief, 714 Morgan Av. No., Minneapolis 11, Minn.

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See Page 12

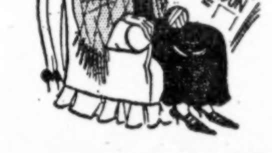
THE GALLERY

THE MODERN OLYMPIC GAMES, first held in Athens, Greece, in 1896, were the result of efforts by Baron Pierre de Coubertin, a French educator, to promote interest in education and culture and foster better international understanding. He predicted that "these peaceful and courteous contests will supply the best of internationalism." But as the games grew in popularity, they became less courteous, and recently they have become less peaceful.

When the Olympics gained international support and publicity, many came to realize that the games afforded an international forum for ideas. Many still remember the afternoon in Los Angeles in 1932 when a young man in shorts and sneakers jumped from the grandstand during a lull in the games and ran a lap around the track while a confused band leader conducted the national anthem. Front and back the runner carried signs reading: "Free Tom Mooney." (He served a year in jail as prize.)

The 1936 games in Berlin were marked by Hitler's refusal to hand the prizes to Jesse Owens because the champion was a Negro. And few can forget the moment when Owens, challenged by Nazi officials on his broad jump record, re-appeared alone on the field. As the hushed audience watched, he jumped again: this time he made 6 ft., 11¼ in., a record that still stands.

The games recessed during the war and re-opened in London in 1948. Since then, for the most part, the Olympics have stayed out of cold war politics. One rub has been the question of "two Chinas." For a while China and Chiang Kai-shek were both represented. But in 1956 the Chinese withdrew because of Chiang.



London News Chronicle

"I suppose dear Mr. Macmillan taught them when he was there."

The issue came to a boil last month when the Intl. Olympic Committee under the presidency of Avery Brundage, an American, excluded the Nationalist Chinese Olympic Committee from the 1960 games on grounds that it "no longer represents sports in the entire country of China." Brundage said if the group wanted to re-apply as representing Formosa (Taiwan), the application would be favorably received.

State Dept. officials denounced the move as political. But Brundage said: "The action was practically unanimous and it was purely a common sense decision." He added: "The Formosa committee has no authority in China. The I.O.C. recognizes only sports organizations and not governments and it has no intention of deviating from its basic policy of no discrimination, either religious, racial or political."

The House of Representatives voted to prohibit the use of Army equipment or personnel in the winter games at Squaw Valley, Calif., and to withhold a $400,000 appropriation if any "free nation" was banned.

Chiang officials said they would re-apply under the name, "Olympic Committee of the Republic of China." But IOC Chancellor Otto Mayer, a Swiss, said they must drop "China" from their name.

The State Dept. said it would not withhold visas from Chinese athletes if they come to the winter games. But Brundage said the Chinese would not be eligible for the winter games because they did not apply in time. There is still time for them to apply for the summer games in Rome in 1960.

RUSSIAN TENNIS PLAYERS, participating in big-time international competition for the first time, made an excellent showing in England early this month. Simon Belits-Gaiman, the Russian coach, said: "Our players need experience against men like Olmedo [American champion who is actually a Peruvian]. We need the best competition possible. We will send our players to the American championships at Forest Hills this year—if we get an invitation." The Russians will compete in England's major tournament at Wimbledon this month.

—Robert E. Light

RESORTS

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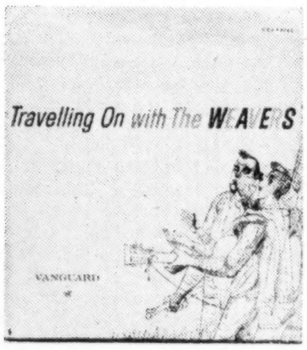

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FOLK

E	105	THEODORE BIKEL: An Actor's Holiday (22 songs from France, Italy, Russia, Spain, Ireland, Zulu-Land & England).
E	109	THEODORE BIKEL: A Young Man & Maid (with Cynthia Gooding) love songs of many lands.
E	132	THEODORE BIKEL: Folk Songs of Israel (in Hebrew).
E	141	THEODORE BIKEL: Jewish Folk Songs (in Yiddish).
E	161	THEODORE BIKEL: Folk Songs from Just About Everywhere.
F	402	PETE SEEGER: American Folk Ballads
V	403	LEON BIBB: Ballads & Folk Songs
V	404	MARTHA SCHLAMME: Folk Songs of Many Lands
V	405	MARTHA SCHLAMME: Jewish Folk Songs (in Yiddish)
R	406	BETTY SANDERS: Songs of Robert Burns
V	407	WEAVERS: At Carnegie Hall
V	408	WEAVERS: On Tour
V	409	WEAVERS: At Home
V	410	WEAVERS: Traveling On With The Weavers
F	411	GUY CARAWAN: Songs with Guy Carawan
F	415	PETE SEEGER: Pete Seeger & Sonny Terry

CHILDREN'S RECORDS

F	7525	SLEEP TIME: Songs & stories by Pete Seeger.
F	7020	SONGS TO GROW ON: American folk songs with Pete Seeger, Charity Bailey, Adelaide Van Way, Leadbelly, Cisco Houston.
V	100	BABY SITTERS: — Folk songs for babies, small children, parents & baby sitters.

TOPICAL

F	413	PETE SEEGER: The Gazette
F	4'4	Almanac Singers & Pete Seeger: Talking Union, Special, $3.50.

CLASSICAL

M	2010	BEETHOVEN ARCHDUKE TRIO: Emil Gilels (piano), Leonid Kogan (violin), Mstislav Rostropovich (cello).
M	2011	BEETHOVEN SONATA #7 (C minor): MOZART SONATA (F major): Leonid Kogan (violinist).
M	2018	VIVALDI VIOLIN CONCERTO (G minor); HANDOSHKIN VIOLA CONCERTO; RAMEAU CONCERTO #6 (G minor): Leonid Kogan, Rudolph Barshai (viola), Moscow Chamber Orch.
M	2020	SHOSTAKOVICH - "From Jewish Folk Poetry"; MUSSORGSKY-"The Nursery"; KABALEVSKY -- "Shakespeare Sonnets"; With pianists Kabalevsky, Shostakovich & Sviatoslav Richter.

PAUL ROBESON

V	401	Paul Robeson Sings
M	412	Favorite Songs

PAUL ROBESON
Favorite Songs

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NEWSPAPER

WHILE THEY LAST . . .

The Yefremov Science Fiction Books — A $6.50 Value for Just $2.95 . . . Orders have been pouring in for the last 100 sets of the two Yefremov books which we offered last week, and which were reviewed on the book page. They're just the thing for thoughtful teen-agers — and grown-ups will find them exciting, too. The American edition of **The Land of Foam** was recently published at $3.50; **Stories**, at American prices, would be at least $3. Yet you get **both, PLUS** the pamphlet, **Interplanetary Travel**, at a Guardian Buying Service bargain price of only $2.95! When our 100 sets are gone there'll be no more, so order now. Perfect as a birthday gift.

CORRECTION

Last week Chaits incorrectly listed Mike Asch as Day Camp Director. He is not associated with Chaits, and Chaits regrets the error.

the SPECTATOR

The tie of hope

On June 19 in New York there was scheduled a public meeting to rally help in the fight to win freedom for Morton Sobell. The meeting, at Webster Hall, 119 E. 11th St., also was to commemorate the sixth anniversary of the death of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in the electric chair at Sing Sing. On the eve of the meeting, Mrs. Helen Sobell received a letter from a woman in Italy who had gone through her own ordeal as she waited day after day, month after month, year after year, to learn whether an outraged world would prevent the execution of her brother Bartolomeo Vanzetti and his co-defendant Nicola Sacco. Her answer came in August, 1927, when both men were put to death in Boston. The letter from Vincenzina Vanzetti follows.

VILLAFALLETTO

DEAR MRS. MORTON SOBELL: I had a great problem in finding a translator and this accounts of my delay in answering your heartfelt letter of April 29. Please excuse me. I want to thank you for the words of encouragement you have expressed concerning the efforts now being made for the rehabilitation of my brother and of Nicola Sacco. I have no other aspiration; no other thought of greater wish in my life. I know from my own personal experience how deep a pain you are suffering on account of the terrible fate meted out to your husband and your family and your outcry which has already been uttered by the great mother of the anarchist of Judea, "Know you a greater grief than mine" as a true touch of the human.

BARTOLOMEO VANZETTI

NICOLA SACCO

I feel very close to you although I cannot in any appreciable way attenuate your suffering, that of your children and of your mother. If my meager voice had the power to move the hearts of the impervious and make them just and serene in their inexorable verdicts, I would cry out with my last breath, "Be kind, be compassionate! Don't let yourself be ruled by human passions, by hate, by interests, fears or vain pride! Let your actions be such that justice span itself like a blue and gentle sky unclouded, so that humanity may still retain faith in itself. See to it that the word JUSTICE should not carry with it a tint of irony to any human ears but that it bring peace to all men."

MINE HAS BEEN FOR YEARS a voice crying in the wilderness, but we must not give up in weariness. It is a mission we must fulfill to the last for our dear ones, for those who are suffering now and those who have already suffered and are seeking this ultimate prize, the clearing of their name. Let us remain strong and loyal. Let us battle on even beyond the fading of the last hope. I press close to my heart your children, poor mother and you to whom I am linked by ties of great anguish and by a single great hope, freedom for your husband and honor to my brother, and his friend Nicola Sacco.

I haven't the ability to write an appeal to the New York Times. If you wish, send this letter of mine. These few words will bring to the American people an understanding of the thirst of justice that sears my soul. May America, the rich and powerful, give an example of magnanimity and justice, which is the privilege of the strong.

I am sorry that my ability to express is so inadequate, and remember me always as I will never, never forget you and your dear family.

Vincenzina Vanzetti

P.S. I have learned of the painful situation of your husband from the enclosures in your letter which have been translated for me. Nevertheless, the fact that some consideration has been shown recently and the nearness to you leads one to hope for the best.

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